1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

[illegible] a regular system of gift partners who alternately sang for and [illegible] each other. All such men in the host village gave their names, knowing that their partners would do the same for them next year. Now and then a new man would volunteer, either because he had acquired relatives-in-law among the challengers or merely because he hoped to establish friendly relations. Sometimes one who was dissatisfied with the gifts he had been receiving would drop out.

When the names had been decided upon, the hosts sent four of their elders to the camp of the visitors, to act as censors of the songs and to reject any that did not please them. These elders sat in a row beside the singers of the visitors. A selected man from the visitors, whom we may call the prompter, sat in front of the row. It was his business to remember the names as they were presented and to remind the singers the next day. This was a responsible task, since there might be twenty or thirty names and all must be mentioned in order of their importance. The device used was that of a number of sticks, each representing a particular name.

[illegible] [illegible]

A boy arrived from the host village, bearing the first two sticks, for names were always "sung for" in pairs. He threw one stick down before the prompter, saying: "Sing for So-and-So." The prompter replied: "I have heard, friend!" Then the boy threw down the other stick in the same way and the prompter, fingering the sticks, repeated the two names until he had fixed them in his memory. Meanwhile the singers behind him decided which of their songs would fit the names. They tried over several, and then sang the one selected. The delegates from the host village listened, and if they thought the words inappropriate, they objected. The singers tried over their repertoire, altering to suit the case, until they had a song that was acceptable.

Meanwhile another boy had arrived, with two more sticks, and the same process was gone through. The prompter, who had memorized the names, kept all the sticks and used them as a mnemonic device the next day. The names must appear in a certain order; shamans first, then the keeper of the smoke, then warriors, then elders. The prompter kept the sticks tied together in this order.

When the songs had been decided upon, the singers might practice a whole day before they presented their performance, many

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

624 526 Like the war leader, this ceremonial official might have a younger assistant to lead the cheering and argue the possible fouls. The women contestants had a woman for this function "since it would not be right for a woman to argue with a man."

SONG LEADER

624 533 A man with a loud voice and a memory for songs was chosen to lead the communal singing, particularly at the liquor fermentation. He usually asked certain good singers to stand next to him and head the line.

THE COUNCIL

623 In every village, or even where two or three families were camping together, a nightly men's meeting was held. This was the real governing power of the community. It decided on communal activities: agricultural work, hunts, war, the dates of ceremonies, games with other villages. It approved the installation of a chief or of new residents in the village. "And if there was nothing to discuss, they would come together and talk." (21). Men reported whether they had seen tracks of enemies or of deer. Visitors from other villages were welcomed and questioned.

[689] Attendance was a duty for every man and in the myths a man who absented himself was dealt with by a deputation. There was no point at which a boy became officially eligible but when he seemed old enough to understand and wanted to go, some older relative [562] would take him. Women were not admitted but when something interesting was discussed, they would stand outside and listen. "But we didn't do it much, because our husbands came home and told [756] us." According to two informants, the shaman was excluded as a possible sorcerer (1).

There was a distinction between the men who formed the actual deliberative body and the listeners. The word s'tcu-amitcu't means wise, or able. It was not an official title but was applied to men who had shown themselves fit to take part in the council. In some villages these were selected by the Keeper of the Meeting (15, 11), who would test a promising mature man by having him make ex tempore, one of the usual speeches of admonition and seeing if he remembered all the points (21). "He must have good judgment and a quick understanding of what is said. The old men were always [554] looking out for people like that." In some villages no man was expected to speak unless he were a "ripe man", that is, had been through the purification incident on salt gathering or enemy killing (9). In others enemy killing was the qualification (25). Or

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

224 Now that cattle raising has taken the place of hunting, its
423 arrangements are very similar. A village unit uses the neighboring range as it formerly used the hunting grounds but the range has no definite limits and no objection is made if the cattle of other units are found there. A few families have accumulated enough cattle so that their ownership ranks as a business, managed on modern lines. Many, however, sell only two or three head a year to local buyers and butcher about as many for the family as they formerly butchered deer. They distribute gifts of beef just as they once distributed venision.[1]

FOOD GIFTS

431 Food was the currency of the Papago economic system. Small gifts of it were continually passing within the intimate family group, and penetrating now and then to further connections. We have described under kin behavior the frequent interchange of cooked food within the geographic unit. There was no particular rule as to quantity. One family gave two large wooden spoonfuls to every household at every meal; another, cooked for each meal, a four gallon pot and distributed it all, sometimes leaving nothing for the home household which subsisted on gifts. Other households sent gifts only once or twice a week or when they had something unusual. The ratio of giving was determined by custom with each group as the elaborateness of Christmas gifts might be determined in a White family. But it was kept up regularly, each gift being reciprocated with a like amount.

431 Gifts made to more distant kin were generally at the time of
484 harvest but there was an exception when kin came to visit. People travelling through a village made the home of any relative their stopping place and then they were not only fed but given cloth, buckskins, beads or anything the family had. It was a sort of insurance which made it safe for the host family to travel in their turn for there was a strong feeling that land outside one's own village unit was dangerous ground.

736 Besides the gifts which cemented relatives together, the Papago
[554] had a system of charity. Although they did not feature generosity as did certain Plains Indians it was a highly appreciated virtue and a man known to practice it had a high status in the community. No one was ever rich and the little extra that any family could accumulate was better invested in good will than kept. Most dependents were cared for by their family groups but in the unusual case that

[1] This section was written before the new regulations for cattle raising were instituted by the U. S. government.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Presbyterians preach against divorce but place no absolute ban upon it, as does the Roman Catholic church. For a Catholic, remarriage following divorce involves the risk of denial of communion or even excommunication. This is a serious deterrent to good Catholics, who are fairly numerous in the eastern districts. 586

CHILDREN IN THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Marriage without children is almost incomprehensible to the Papago. They invariably say, "Every girl wants to get married and have children." Contraceptive measures are so rare as to be almost unheard of, and the occasional woman who says she does not want children is severely criticized. Yet there are no strong sanctions against abortion. The Papago strongly disapprove, but they are not shocked into action, and there are no penalties except criticism; they feel that no one else can rightfully interfere with what is really the concern of a woman and her family. On the other hand, if a man and wife have no children for some time, there is speculation by others, and the couple may visit a medicine man to determine the cause. 842 847

If Papago are asked why they welcome children, they are likely to say, "They help us with the work. They take care of us when we are old." Neither of these reasons should be underestimated. Many hands make somewhat lighter the arduous work of wringing a living from the desert, and an assured source of help in old age is especially important in a society where savings accounts and insurance are virtually nonexistent, if not impossible, because cash incomes are too low. Then, too, children are welcomed by their parents because they bring improved social status. 842 [554]

Undoubtedly bound up with all these factors, but potent in itself, is the sheer affection that the Papago have for their children. Open display of love is exceedingly rare between adults, but they fondle and make much of a child. Parents do not like to be separated from their children, and the usually reserved Papago man will allow himself to express such joy and affection at being reunited with his children as he would never show for his wife in public. Not only parents but all relatives pet little children. When small, children are treated as very dear and irresponsible beings; they are seldom struck or otherwise punished. But "when they know better," they are treated as individuals with growing responsibilities. They must learn to act in accordance with Papago ideals, to be obedient at all times, not to "talk back" to their elders, and to be unobtrusive when the elders are busy. But at no time are they set apart in a separate world; the activities of adults are open to them when they are ready and able to participate. 855

the Papago soon after 1900. Unlike other Arizona tribes, who acquired cattle in significant numbers only after formal programs for cattle raising had been introduced by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Papago created their own livestock economy. Gwyneth Harrington provides a very interesting account of the process (Harrington, 1938). The incorporation of cattle raising as a part of Papago native culture, compares with the Navajo sheep raising economy, and accounts for a great deal of the resistance to change on the part of both tribes:

> "In the time which elapsed between the abandonment of Father Kino's missions and the founding of the Papago Indian Reservation in 1917, the Papago had plenty of time, about two hundred years in all, to become accustomed to the use of cattle and horses, adjust themselves to the new occupational elements, and assimilate the industry into the family, social, and economic structure of the tribe at their own tempo, without interference.
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> "The old hunting range became the cattle range of the Papago settlement. Hunting was not entirely abandoned, and still has some place in the Papago economy; but in the southern districts the economic emphasis shifted early to cattle raising.
>
> "The cattle of all the family were herded together, and the enterprise was conducted under the orders of the family head. The family hunters, usually one or two men to a family, gave place to one or more of the younger men appointed by the patriarchal head of the family as cowboys. These men took care of the cattle, while, as often in the case of hunters, the others did their share of the farming, and provided for their other needs in return for the specialized work of hunting or care of cattle.
>
> "Each village chose a local stockman to direct the village round-ups and cattle sales. His work was voluntary, unpaid, and a position of some prestige, almost equal to that of the Hunt Chief, whose position was falling into disuse."